

To the Quenes Maiesties
poore deceiued Subiectes of the North
Country, drawn into rebellion
by the Earles of Northum-
berland and West-
merland.

*Written by Thomas Norton.
And newly perused and en-
creased.*

*Seen and allowed according
to the Quenes Injunctions.*

16-662



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Albeit I knowe not by what
name wel to cal you, sithens
you haue lost the iuste name
of Englishmen by disturbing
the common peace of Eng-
lande, with cruell inuasion and spoile lyke
enimies: and the Quenes subiects you can
not well be named, hauing thzowne away
your due submission and obedience: and yet
her Subiectes still must you be, and cannot
enjoy the name of lawfull enimies, beyng
vnder her highnes authoritie of coꝛrection,
not to be ransomed, noꝛ by the curtesie of
Parthall law to be dealt with as iust eni-
mies, but to be executed as traitoꝛs and re-
bels: Christians I can not terme you that
haue defaced the Communion of Christi-
ans, and in destroying the booke of Christs
most holy testament, renounced your parts
by his Testament bequethed vnto you: Yet
I remember what you haue ben, by coutry
englishmen, by nature our kinsmen and al-
lies, by allegeaunce subiectes, by profession
Christian men: I pitie what you now are,
by cruelty and spoile of the land worse than
enimies, by vnnatural doings farther from
dueties of loue than extremest strangers, by
rebellion traytoꝛs, by blaspheming Christ
A. y. our

our Sanctoꝝ, and destroying the monu-
mentes of his Religion, worse than Jewes and
Infidels: Lastly I doe not wholly despire,
though you be farre gone, what by good ad-
uise and repentance hereafter you may be, if
you shall cesse from outrages, assaye the day-
ly mercie of our God, & the oft approued cle-
mencie of our most gracious Quene, wher-
by you may become agayne pꝛeserued En-
glishmen in Englande, reconciled kinsmen
and friends, pardoned subiects, and refoꝛmed
Christians, who otherwys stand in state
to vndo your selues, your wyues, chyldzen,
and posteritie foꝛ euer, to seele the sharpe re-
uenge of her maiesties necessarie iustice and
due execution to be most rigoꝛously laid vpon
you by her innincible power, & by the hands
of her true loyal subiectes, to lose al that you
possesse, to die with shame, and (that is most
terrible and græuous) to die in state of dam-
nation. The considering of these your perils,
with much compassion of you, & with some
(though but smal) remnant of hope, that be-
ing admonished by hearing your frends, and
somewhat alredy touched by feeling your sel-
ues, you will be called backe to a moze gra-
cious & happy way, hath moued me to wryte
vnto you. Though it be hard to thinke, that
other mens wordes and wꝛiting can with-

dyaw

by to them, whome their owne duties most
euident danger coulde not withhold, yet by
cause (not excusing your wicked following
them) I impute one great part of your most
heinous fault to other mens wicked persua
sions, so I doe not wholly despeire of your
amendement by better aduises. I shall ther
fore beseeche you, for the honour of God, for
the quiet of the realm, for the safetie of your
selues, your liues, possessions, wiues & chil
dren, for preservation of your poore soules
from euerlasting death, to hear my poore coun
sell, as of one that is carefull for you, & har
tily prayeth GOD to giue you his grace to
haue true repentance, to obtaine his and the
Quenes maiesties mercifull pardon, & that
your dangerous beginnings may be exam
ple to restraine both your selues and al good
subiectes from lyke mischiese hereafter. I
know byles launced befoze their ripenesse,
are not thereby well cured: yet hope I that
the rancour and soze of your disordors hath
by this tyme growne so farre and gathered
as much yll humour as it can, & the same so
rottened with your owne pains & calamitie,
that you are not altogether vnrype & vnre
dy to receiue the meanes of your healing, ra
ther than to continue, till you must of neces
sitie be cutte off as incurable and despeired

members. Cal I pray you to remembrance
your matter, cause, & quarell, and therewith
the ende wherto it tendeth: the shewes and
coloꝝ wherewith it is cloked, and therein the
likelihood of those successes that you are pro-
mised, with the hope of your aids, complices
fauozers and succours: the states and quali-
ties of those that haue misguided you: how
farre you be any way bound vnto them, and
to whom you rather be bound, and for what
causes: the maner of youre owne doings in
following them: the power and force of her
maiestie, her true subiects, and other bent a-
gainst you: your owne manifest mischief and
daunger, both bodily and ghostly: almighty
Gods infinite mercy, and the Quenes Ma-
iesties excessive clemencie.

their cause
and intent.

Your very matter, cause, and quarell in
this, is not any enterpryse for your commo-
ditie, nor meant for your benefite, no more
than if you were set on worke to hang your
selues, suche god will they heare you that
thus deceiue you. The very matter in this
is this, to alter the state and government of
the realm: to ouerthrow her maiesties our
most gracious soueraigne Ladies crowne &
dignitie: to satisfie the neede and pueritie of
such your leaders, as are fallen into lack by
their leud vnthriftinesse and wastfull spen-
ding

ding in mosse vile things and doings : to set
vp the ambition of most vnwoorthy persons:
to serue the turne of our fozein enemies, by
whom intending our generall destruction,
your misleaders are both with present mea-
nes & great hopes most traiterously corrup-
ted : to aduance a fayned and false title, that
hath neither foundation of right & law, nor
can stande with the safetie of the Quenes
Maiestie, and can not but most manifestly
threaten to the realme spoile, tyanny, alie-
natio of honoꝝ, of soueraigntie and of neces-
sary defence, with most greuous bondage to
straungers vniust power. To which cause
whosoever shall by means of alliaunce,
league, confederacie, or other bond of fauour
whatsoever, knit or ioyne himselfe, can not
in right consideratio be seuered from the so-
cietie and staine of your treason and rebelli-
on, nor can be any other but a daily daunge-
rous underminer of the Quenes most ex-
cellent Maiesties Crowne and life, whome
God long pꝛeserue, euen to your benefite
howsoever poꝛe soules you be abused. This
is your naked cause, howsoever your sedu-
cers haue clothed it. Let eche of you weye
with himselfe, (soꝛ so it standeth you vpon)
what he hath heard and vnderstode among
you, what foꝛme of conditions he knoweth

Magnæ
altera Ro

Confeder

would content your Captayns, what change
would please them, what successe he looketh
for, if your treasons might prosper, what at-
tempts haue ben giuen, for which of the po-
bilities destruction they preted themselues
to be carefull, what course that Nobilitie
hath taken, what maner leages, aliances or
cōioynings they haue entred, what metings
they haue had, what saythes and promyses,
and whereto they haue bene giuen, if they
owne proclamation say true, and do not ra-
ther sclaunder Nobilitie to deceiue you: and
so shall you easely decifer and plainly see the
matter to be as I haue disclosed it. Which
course to folow, what were it els, thā to re-
sist the ordinance of almighty GOD, to re-
iect his most inestimable benefit, a most gra-
cious Quene our midst deare mother, nurse
and protectrice, to draw vpon vs the yoke of
a cursed and abhominable rule, of most vile
and cruel example odious to God and man,
to shake away a most peassible gouernment,
to pull vpon our owne heades by Gods iust
plage moste miserable calamitie & slauerie,
and to be parteners of his iuste reuenge for
the notozious euils of those, whose yoke we
should so laxe to enter? And yet a change
must be made by your wyle leaders great
discretions, a noble change forsoth.

Some

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Some of you perhaps, see nothing but the outward shew & colour; bycause you loke to nothing else, which yet God wot is full fauoured. Your great Captains (a likely matter) pitying the foule disorder of the realme of Englad, so empouerished and decayed from the maruelous welthy state wherin Quene Marie leste it, so far indetted beyond the expenses of infinite treasure that King Philip brought and left in this land, so subiected to strangers that had so small likelyhode to haue ought to doe here in Quene Maries raigne so troubled with forrein warres and inuasions as we haue ben in the. xj. yeares & more of the Quenes noble gouernment, so defrauded of due execution of iustice, that no subiect can haue his right by lawe (wher in deed none wanteth his right but they and you that yet want your due execution, but may haue it time ynough) and that most lamentable is, those good deuout men, as your holy Earle of Westmerlande and other, in whom no kinde of lewdnesse lacked, but rebellion, which they haue now added to make by their full heape of iniquitie, y they might be perfittly starke nought, being graued so soth to see God ill serued in the common order of prayers, preaching, and administration of Sacraments, and specially in this, that

Their colours.

Ironia.

A. v.

the

Mass of the
holy Ghost.

Their pro-
clamation.

the booke of God lieth open to the people, and
that god is serued after gods owne teaching:
to remedy all those mischiefs, these notably
well chosen men, like themselves, haue cal-
led a noble Parliament & Conuocation, that
is, a route of vnlearned rude Rebelles, for-
getting all dutie to God, Prince, Countrey,
Neighbour, and all that ever honest is: and
in this depe, wise and godly assembly, by the
inspiration of the Diuels spirite, whom vn-
der false name of the holy Ghost, they haue
in abominable sacrifice called vpon, it is at
length decreed, enacted and proclaimed, that
your two Erles with the rest of their factiō
are the Quēnes true and faithfull subiects:
that they haue a good meaning: that nobilitie
haue giuen their faith to further it: that dis-
ordered and euil disposed persons about the
Quēne, seeking their owne advancements,
haue ouerthrowne true religiō, disordered the
realm, and sake destruction of the Nobilitie:
that these your good gouernours will with
the helpe of GOD and good people, redresse
things amisse, and restore ancient customes
and liberties to the Church and realme.
Finally, they enforme of a great purpose of
straungers to correct and chasten vs, to the
hazard of the Realm, which they will auoyd
by hazarding it themselves. And after the
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ende they say, God saue the Quene, when
in their doings and discourses befoze, out of
al course of dutie, they haue plainly shewed
it is not our quene, Quene Elizabeth that
they meane.

They mean
not our
Queene.

Blind men may iudge no colozs. A mā in
a dark place without light, or he whose eies
be blindfold or couered with any thing that
he can not see through, or he that obstinately
winketh, is as vnapt to discern colours as
he that is stark blind. Wherefoze if you wil
rightly iudge of these coloures, and see what
they bee in deede, you must come out of that
blinde cozner of rebellion and error, where
no truthe shyneth, you muste shake off the
veyle or couering of wongful affection and
misunderstanding, and you must leaue win-
king at your owne faultes and follies. And
principally you must pray to almighty God
to open your eies to giue you his grace to see
truthe and finde mercy at his handes. And
thus prepared, I beseech you descend to con-
ferre these gay coloures in the broad light.

Four Carles (say they) are the Quenes
true subiects. Suppose it for the time & for
the questions sake, as they wold haue you,
but for the time and for their purposes sake
to take it that they vnderstand or mean ther-
by Quene Elizabeth our most gracious so-
ueraigne

They are
not true
subiects.

Marinus and
Sylla.

neraigne Lady, & not any other that would
bzing vpon vs Mariana tempora, the misera-
blest dayes that euer Rome or Englands
felte. Farre doth the proportion of duety of
subiectes to the Prince, excede the duety of
seruauntes to Maisters, or children to Pa-
rents, yea or wyues to their husbandes, the
very nearest conioyning in humaine fellow-
ship, euen so farre as a Realme excedeth a
private familie. But if one of your owne
seruauntes, children or wiues, should do that
without your wil, yea against your wit and
expresse commaundement, that your Cap-
tains and you haue attempted without and
against the Queens highnes pleasure, wold
you accompt them good seruauntes, good chil-
dren, or good wiues? If the seruaunt shall de-
parte from his Maisters seruice wythout
leauē, the childe from his fathers obedience,
the wife frō the societie of her husband, with-
out his contentement or pleasure knowen,
the case being supposed your owne, you can
not like it. If they shall put on armour and
weapon, and become terrible, or threaten
force to the master, Father, Husband, or the
rest of the familie: if the case (I say) were
your owne, you wold moze nūlike it. If
they shall threaten to pull away, to banish,
to destroy those frendes or good seruants, or
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the rest of the childeſen whome the maiſter,
father or Huſbande dearely eſteemeth, by
whoſe good trauaile, cheriſhing and dutifull
miniſterie and attendaunce, the maiſter,
father, or huſband is ſerued and preſerued, &
mainteineth the commodities of his counte-
nance: this being your own caſe, you would
yet moze diſallow it. If they ſhall miſen-
treat, robbe, ſpoyle, mayheme, and murder
ſome of the reſt of thoſe other ſeruauntes,
freendes & childeſen that the maiſter, father,
or huſband ſo dearely loueth, & for his bene-
fit comfoztably bleth: were it in your own
caſe, you would now abboz it. If by no war-
ning, prohibition, requeſt, promiſe of recon-
ciliation, threatening or other wayes, they
will ceaſe off proſecuting their enterpriſe:
the caſe being your owne, you would hie-
ly ſtomacke it. If notwithstanding all theſe do-
ings, proceedings, continuings, neglecting
of threatenings, reiectyng of faire ſpeache
and promiſes, theſe riſers, withſtanders, in-
uaders, robbers, murderers, contemnners,
without licence, againſt the authoritie, a-
gainſt the open declaration of his own will
and meanes of pacification ſought by the
maiſter, father, or Huſbande, will ſtill ſay
and maintayne that they be true and faith-
full ſeruauntes, humble and obedient chil-
dren,

byen, good and louyng wyues : yf the cases
were your owne, you would not beleue it.

The Quenes maiestie Quene Elizabeth
is by all right the Soueraigne Lady & Mai-
estie of vs al, and of you too, & that must ye
otherwise acknowlege or otherwise feel, or
both, to your terreur I speake it. Her grace
is the most louing mother and nurse of all
her good subiects, to your shame and reproch
of unkindnesse I say it. Her highnesse is the
Husband of the comon weale, married to the
realme, and the same by ceremonie of ring
as solemnely signified as any common ma-
riage is, to our great comfort and confidence
I reherse it. Shall your captains forsake her
seruice, and tell you they are good seruants?
Shall they or you resist her authoritie, & re-
fuse her blessing, & say thei or you be her good
children? Shall they seuer the knot of loue
and agreement betwene her and them, and
yelde their bodies to a notorious adulter, &
yet say they breake no bonde of this sacred
wedlocke? Call their doings to mynde, per-
use them, wey them. They haue long agoe
nourished this treason in their harts: they
haue bene long prouiding for it: it was
brought to her maiestie and her counsell by
aduertisements: they haue bin tenderly delt
with, priuately admonished of the rumors,
the

the matter so signified vnto them, as if her
highnesse were lothe to beleue it : themsel-
ues haue sozwozne it, with great othes &
detestation, protestting themselves to be free
from it. Wherin note I pray you the great
indulgence towarde them euen with the
most that any subiect in highest place may
be in cases touching his Soueraignes safe-
tie, whereof he ought not to be prodigall.
And yet could none of these too great kind-
nesses moue them. Note withall how like-
ly they are to profess a true Religion, that
holde this Principle To keepe no fayth, ^{Papistes} vse ^{teache to}
no loyaltie, regarde no othes and promises ^{keepe no}
made with attestacion of God, and auow ^{faith.}
ing themselves to renouncyng of heauen
and to eternall damnation. Note also how
likely they are to say true to you, in the
things they beare you in hand, or in keping
promise with you for your succour, defence,
or standing by you in extremitie, if them-
selves might haue any hope to escape, and
leane you to Gods mercy, or rather to your
owne misery and most hard aduenture. For
surely they do in the while but vse you for
a buckler, to hold by betwene them and the
strokes for a time, and at length when they
be ouerlayde, they will throwe away their
buckler that they may run away the ligh-
ter, if they and their buckler both bee not
also

aforehand beaten downe to the groundes.
But these good men well respecting Religion,
that respect no Faith, nor will keepe
any with you more than they haue kept
with the Quene & her Officers, being called
at length by order to purge them selues,
refuse to appere: being more earnestly
called vpon to come & declare their innocencie,
they enter into actual Rebellion,
raise vp you and other to keepe themselves
from the face of iustice, & yet they haue put
on a visor of great vertue: and where in
deed not being able to clear themselves, and
answer their traiterous leagues and deuises,
they vse you for the time to stave their
apprehension, till they may otherwise provide
their escape, they beare you in hande
that with all reuerence they remaine her
true & faithfull subiects. Is not this a plaine
counterfait coloz? Where is no white without
whitenesse, no good without goodnesse,
none true without truthe, none faithfull
without faithfulnessse, no subiect without
subiection & obediencer. What do they herein
else but as all other traytors & rebels haue
euer and ordinarily do, pretend themselves
to be true subiects, knowing otherwise that
simple subiects wold not follow them at all.
These good religious Crles and Captai-
nes

nes that so much inney against faith which
they vse not, and bragge of the value and
merites of good woꝝkes whereof they haue
few, now let the if they will proue their co-
lour true, that they be as they pretend, shew
me their faith by their woꝝkes, their white-
by their whitenesse, proue themselves true
by true dealing, with god in their periuries
with Prince in their rebellion, with subiect
and neighbours in their spoyles and robber-
ies, and well paying their dettes, yea with
your selues in so sowlfully abusing you. Let the
proue themselves faithfull subiects in their
refusing to come to answer, in their rising
without warrant, their resistance without
yelding. All these enormities they still con-
tinue, no gentle vsage, no good meane re-
straineth them. Alas the case is too playne.

They say they haue good meanyng. If it
were so, it would procede by good doyng, and
tend to good ending. But what good meaning
are such good men like to haue? Whatsoe-
uer is good meaning, be these likely to light
first vpon it, or fitly chouse to further it? Some
what must be said, or nothing can be done.
Some shew must be made, or no mā wil fol-
low. How easie is it for the noughtiest per-
son to say he meaneth well: but how plaine
is it on the other side for every reasonable

Their mea-
ning not
good

man to see, that he that doth vngrationly
meaneth ill: and he that putteth in execution
horrible and vngodly factes, continueth and
reioyceth in the, riseth without his princes
warrant, armeth her subiects without au-
thority, employeth their forces to her terror,
bindeth all his doings to tumult and byrre,
destroyeth the booke of God the most comfort-
table iewel in the world published with the
princes power and commendation, wherein
eche man is truly taught how to do well in
bede, this man I say that doth thus ill, mea-
neth not well how good sooner he say his
meaning is. Discerne the tree by the fruits,
the faith by the works, the saying by p[ro]ofe,
the pretended meaning by apparant deedes.
These men meane shrewdly or spake ve-
ry falsely, when they say they meane well,
and yet do so ill. If they meane well to the
Quene, when they thus resist her, it is pos-
sible they will vnder you too, and yet beare
you in hande: they meane you well. They
meane to you daungerously euill, and they
meane to themselves foolishly well, in thru-
sting your bodies betwene them and their
due danger, while such shift wil last, and till
they may spy a better. But you shall do well
to discern their ill meaning: let them aun-
swer their faults, & repent you your faults.

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Of such a good meaning on your part may
rise a good doing, and hap a better speed
than is yet to be looked for.

But see in what forme and perticulari-
ties this good meaning is expessed. Nobilitie
(say they) and other haue giuen theyr
faith to further this lewd meaning. If any
such confederacie be, as it is not so great as
you be bozne in hande, it shall be good to the
parties to purge them of that iclousie in
true seruice against your Captaynes and
you. Neither can any be free from the spotte
thereof, that shall be founde to aduance, fa-
uour, mainteyne or ioyne himselfe to any
estate or title that impoynteth her maiesties
danger, or hath impugned her highnesse
safetie, right, or dignitie. No, no, this is but
a colour to flander Nobilitie, and deceyue
you with vaine hope of desperate succours.
You see you finde it not, you are destitute
and disappoynted of it. If suche leagues
had bene, neuer looke that they will keepe
faith with you that breake it with theyr
Prince, or will ioyne with you beyng no
stronger than you be to beare them harme-
lesse. Looke sooner that Nobilitie will the-
rather employ themselves for her Maie-
stie agaynst you, to cleanse and reuenge
this great infamie and dishonour with your

Nobilitie
flandered.

iust destruction. But bee it, that they haue
 so, and were ioynd together to aduance
 thys good meanynge, wherof God wote you
 are sowly begyled. What is it I pray you,
 or what ground hath it? What hath the her
 maiestie or hir counsell offended? Wherin
 is the Realme so daungered and oppressed,
 that it must haue violent remedy, it may a
 bide no delay of counselling, no ordinarie
 meane of reformation: Northumberlande,
 Westmerland & Swinborne, like Catiline,
 Lentulus, and Manlius, muste erect a newe
 Trimuirate to repaire or newe melte and
 fashion the decayed common weale of En
 gland: Forsooth disordered and yll disposed
 persones aboute the Quene haue marred
 all. Disordered sayth my Lorde of West
 merlande: Ill disposed, sayeth my Lorde of
 Northumberlande: about the Quene, say
 good fellows, wight riders and robbers in
 the borders of two Realmes: Vertuous
 men. Holpe theues. Well meanynge
 traytours. A lykely surmise. Is there any
 greater disorder than rebellion? Is there
 any worse disposition than Treason? Is
 there any greater falshode than thus to de
 fame the Quenes moste noble gouerne
 ments? Are you so blynde not to see the
 Quene touched, though, to begyle you, hir
 name

The rule of
 three gouer
 ners.

Great waste
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 ling.

name be spared : Come they, whome you The Quene
 call disordered, to the Quene vncalled : name for-
 Are they not of hir Maiesties Councell by borne, to
 her wise and good choyce : Deale they not sclander her
 in the causes of the realme to such ende and Councell.
 with such meanes as hir maiestie appoin-
 teth : Do they any thing without hir au-
 thoritie and good likyng, as there is good
 cause : Make they any lawes, require they
 any Subsidies, do they the greatest thin-
 ges, without assent of the whole Realme,
 your owne assent by your deputies & Bur-
 geses, yea your owne forsworne captaines,
 in open Parliament, whereunto hir Ma-
 iesties assent is had : or in cases out of par-
 liament, is ought put in execution without
 her highnesse will and pleasure : Do they
 their things here, trow you, as you do your
 things there : O impudent beasts to beare
 you so in hande . O deceyved foles you to
 beleue it. But O madde doltes so rashly to
 hazard your possessions, lyues, good names,
 wines, children, honour, yea soules, and
 all vpon credite of so false reports. It is her
 Maiestie that dothe these good thyngs her
 selfe, and honourably auoweth and inuinci-
 bly will vpholde the doing of those thyngs
 which your captaynes call misdoings, and
 will defende the persones of these good and

9
Noble counsellors that serue her in to god
gouernance of her estate, with the as-
sistance of almighty God in her right; and the
dutyfull seruice of all her true Nobilitie and
her faithfull subiectes against all Rebelles,
traytours and enemies, whatsoeuer they
be, eyther within the Realme or without.
Thus knowe ye, that her Maiestie tak-
eth vpon her the iustification of her go-
uernement, and her Counsels ministerie
therein. Wherefoze when your Charles ac-
cuse these about the Quene, they accuse
the Quene her selfe. It is but coloure to
abuse you. They would say the Quene, if
they thought you would well take it. And if
GOD were so farre angry with vs as to
geue them miraculous victorie agaynst all
likelihoode, yea and in mans eyes against all
possibilitie, no doubt her Maiestie shoulde
take it with the lowest indignitie that e-
uer was seen in earth. And if it lay in them
to spoile her maiestie and the realme of hir
good Counsellors, their slender curtisie to
her person would soon appeare. Cease then
to be so beguiled, take that shadow away,
and take it as truthe is, that your Charles
proclamation in dede saith, though not in
the selfe same syllables, that the Quenes
Maiestie wyth her Nobilitie, Parliament,
and

and Counsell, haue done these mischiefes
that my lord of Westmerland and his fel-
lowes must redresse in hast. And these no-
bilitie and counsellors your wyse good ru-
lers call disordered and euill disposed per-
sons. If you know them not, will you beleue
that so wyse, learned, vertuous and noble a
Quene calleth to her Counsell disordered
and euill disposed persons? Prea moze, if you
know the not, will you beleue that so great
weakenesse and pouertie, wherein her ma-
iestie founde the Realine, is (thanks be to
God) repaired: so great quietnesse and peace
procured and kept: so good and equall distri-
buting of iustice maintained: suche amitie
with neighbours, such loue, credite, yea awe
of her highnes among sozreine princes and
Potestates, conciled and vpholden, so firm-
ly, and so many yeares: will you beleue so
great thinges. so well done, so long con-
tinued, by disordered and ill disposed per-
sones? If you know them, then needs I say
no moze. You know your proclamation is
falle, you know they bee slandered, you
know your selues be deceyued. GOD geue
you grace to know howe to recouer your
selues agayne. But on the other side, when
you remember that which you daily see, the
vanities, the doltishnesse, the borrowings

The Counse
not disorder
nor il dispos

The rebels
orders and i
dispositions.

without caring to pay, the prostitute abuse
without regarde of chastitie, the leude hu-
thristinesse without respect of well getting
or wel spending, the rashnesse without dis-
cretion, the vngodly life without al vertue,
the glozious lustinesse wythout feare of
God and without all foundation of hone-
stie, the adulteries, fornications, thestes,
robberies, spoyles, murders, and other mis-
chiefes, in some of your Captaynes profes-
sedly open and daily exercised, even with the
gay name of a ioly stoute Gentleman and
lusty courage, and in some of greatest ra-
uenie, yet lyke Raynard the fore cloked
with some moze hipocrisie: these when
you marke and wey truly, as you see them,
daily apply the wordes of disordred and ill
dispoled persons as you see them deserued.
Let euery worke haue his true name. And
now see these coloures. Rebelles are called
true subiectes: the Quenes maiestie is na-
med with honour, and touched with disho-
nour: her doinges, that they may be moze
freely slandered, are imputed to other whom
they dare moze boldly defame: you are led
against the Quene, & borne in hand against
other: Nobilitie is falsely charged: foule
treason is called good meanyng: periurie
chalengeth to be beleued: common robbers

and

and theues, adulterers, murderers & rebels
are wel disposed persons: the Quænes ma-
iesties counsel and true nobilitie are called
disozdered and yl disposed. Alas these coloꝝs
are so black, that they will take none other
hue. Marke well. If you beleue these, you
may not saye you are deceyued other wyse
than wilfully; the matter is so playne.

But what haue these disozdered and euill
disposed counsellors about the Quæne done
say you: ouercome true and catholike reli-
gion, disozdered the realme, seke the destruc-
tiõ of nobilitie. A shamelesse falshood, A fa-
ding, iasse and bayne coloures. Come out of
darknes, open your eyes, cary them into the
light, hold them against the sunne, try them
and iudge of them. They haue ouercome
true religion, say your seducers & false tea-
chers. Is there any alteration of Religion
made so rashly as your rebellion: or teacheth
it so vngodly doings as you do erecute: or is
it receyued from any other than from the
woꝝde of God himselfe: If you wil haue a-
ny religion, I trust you will haue Chzistes
religion, If you will haue the religion of
Chzist, I hope you will best beleue himself
to tell you what it is. If you will here him
selfe speake, you may not destroy his woꝝd.
Euen they that would deceyue ye most can

B. v.

not

not deny that the holy Bible is the word of
God, whatſoeuer is taught therein is truth,
whatſoeuer is againſt it, is heretic and falſe-
hode. How thinke you then, doe they meane
you wel that take Gods word fro you, that
deſtroy the Bible, teare and treade vnder
ſoote the Scripture of the worde of God, ſo,
bid you to heare or know that wherby only
you ſhould heare and know truth, and learn
to ſee their falſehode: can they wiſhe you to
ſee that would take away your light: can
they wiſhe you to ſare well, that would de-
priue you of your ſode: The blaſphemie is
hainous, the offence dangerous, this path is
not the way to true Religion, but to error,
which they wold haue you ſee, that perſuade
you to blind all your ſelues againſt the truth
of Gods Goſpell.

Breaking
the Com-
munion is
ſe.

Beſides your deſtroying of Gods booke,
can ye thinke that they meane to draw you
to true & Catholike religion, that perſuade
you to deſtroy the monumentes of Chriſti-
an Communion: Read or heare the whole
ſorme of that ſeruite, iudge of every word
and ſentence, and then ſhall you ſee what
comforte your falſe deceyvers haue taken
from you. Compare what good you find in
that, and what ediſying in the contrarie:
what ſweeteneſſe it is to ioyne with Gods
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congregation in partaking of Christs body
and blood by meane of his Sacraments,
and what banitie or rather sorrow it is to
gaze vpon a theefe that robbeth you of that
treasure, pretendeth to take it all himselfe,
and holdeth vp that which he calleth a Sa-
crament: as it were in insultation and tri-
umphe ouer your silly simplicitie. Doe but
heare, reade and knowe the things that ye
yet despise, I doubt not Gods grace shal crepe
into you for your comfort.

Where thirdly you haue raged against
the mariage of Gods Ministers, behold
your owne madnesse. I hope you be not all
popishe Priestes Bastardes, thus rebell-
ously to rise for the honoz of your false Fa-
thers. Do you thinke al your popish priestes
to haue liued chaste? knowe you not their
olde incontinence commonlye misnamed
lustinesse and good fellowship? Remem-
ber the examples your selues. Is marriage
worse than whooredom? was it not by them
selues taught to be a Sacrament? Is it not
the holy ordinaunce of God? Is the mariage
of your selues and your forefathers be-
come uncleannesse, or displeasing to God?
Thinke not so yll of your selues. No, no,
there is another matter. You are begyled
your soules, loke home to your owne beds,
preserue

Crueltie to
married
priesters.

Shrift was a
shrewd pick-
lock to wo-
mens cham-
ber dores,
and Lent
was lewd
preestes har-
uest so store
them of har-
lots for all
the yeare
after.

preserue the cleanness & honestie of your
houses. This is a quarell wholly lyke the
olde rebels complaint of enclosing of com-
mons. Many of youre disordered and euill
disposed wyues are muche aggrieved that
Priestes which were wont to bee common
bee now made seuerall. Hinc ille lachry-
ma, there is the grasse in deede. And truth
it is, and so shall you fynde it: few women
stoyne againste the marriage of Priestes,
callyng it vnlauffull, and incensing men a-
gainst it, but suche as haue bene Priestes
harlots, or fayne would bee. Content your
wyues youre selues, and let Priestes haue
their owne. And for whole Religion, re-
ceyue it as God hath taughte it, reade his
worde: and for the deliuerie and explica-
tion of it, it behoueth you, being no better
clerkes than you are, to credite the whole
Parliament, the learned Clergie of the
Realme, and those that teache you by the
booke of God, & lerne it in such sort and pla-
ces as it is to be taught. Your Campe is no
good schole of Diuinitie. Your churches as
they were reformed, the word of God read
in suche tong as you vnderstode it, the Sa-
cramentes ministred to your comforte: in
suche sort as you myghte feele the sense of
them and bee edified by them, the good ex-
amples

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The

amples of your Spinisters lining in holy
matrimonie with their owne wyues and
abstaying from yours, their teaching you
obediencie, iustice, and charitie, be the
meanes to learne truthe.

And yet if errozs had ben taught, this is
not the waye to come to amendement.
Knowe of those that complaine of the ouer-
throwing of that religion that liketh them,
if euer they sought good meanes to defende
it and were denied, if euer they offered con-
ference where it was moete and were re-
fused, if euer they maynteyned it in places
conuenient by the woꝛde of God and were
not fully, truly and charitably aunswered:
Thinke you hir maiestie & the wisest of the
realme haue no care of their owne soules,
that haue charge bothe of their owne and
yours? Thinke you they woulde haue en-
tered into the troubles of changing religi-
on, vnlesse very truthe, conscience and ze-
le for all our soules had enforced them? God
wote you are deceyued, you are oute of the
waye for true vnderstanding religion, you
are oute of the way for true seeking it, and
ye are very far oute of the way in thinking
that your captaynes haue any care of it.

They abuse you in this as in the rest.
They regarde no Religion, that goe so ir-
reli-

religiously to worke. All is but shewes and
hypocrisie. They haue frequented the Ser-
uice established by common authoritie, they
haue receyued Goddes Communion with
his Church, they haue commended it,
which if they had had the contrarie Religi-
on to hart, they would not nor might haue
done, vnlesse they woulde confesse them-
selues such as you ought not to beleue. But
the truthe is, they knowe that for want of
sufficient Preaching, and especiall ye for
want of grace to receyue the truthe of God
Preached, and partely also for that long
settled erreures euen in men otherwyle
good and honest, must haue their tyme of
instruction and persuation : by these mea-
nes I say, there bee many yet within the
Realme not well taught : the multitude of
which simple men, they hoped by this co-
lour to drawe to the fellowship of their re-
bellion, and that way to haue more helpe
to shelde them selues from the power of
Justice, and so to geue an aduenture by
more ayde to escape the due punishment
for these their Treasons that otherwise in
peasable place of iustice they coulde not de-
fend or auoide.

So stil this is but coloure, euen as is the
same that soloweth, that her Maiesties coun-
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fell haue disordered the Realme. Well they knowe it is not so, and well they know that they nor their auncesters neuer knewe it so well ordered. But if any would beleue such sleaunders, they hoped thereby to winne the more complices, and so to hide their owne daunger in the multitude. Consider the truthe of this colour. Wee the times, conferre and examine them truly. Let not false persuasions deceiue you. Be not so wild and wanton with wealth to forget whence your wealth commeth, or not to see that the Realme hath it. Had Englands euer in our memoerie so long so blessed peace both at home and abroad? Had euer true Nobilitie more tender indulgence and honorable cherishing? Had euer subiectes more true and free administration of law and right? Was England euer better ordered in all degrees, from hie to lowe, till your shamefull rebellion hath interrupted the great blessing of God? Doth all Christendome the like at this day, your lewd tumult onely excepted? Hath not her Maiestie with the aduise and ayde of her most honourable Counsell, so ordered vs, that we haue as it were standing on shore beholden the shipwackes of other nations? Liue we not dayly to our comfort with the fruites of this good gouernement?

It

It is such, that as the case sheweth, he is like to be unhappy that shal ouerlyne it. Is this the thanks due to her Maestie and her counsel for their care and trauaile for your preservation? Suppose you that such kindnesse is the way to kepe GOD louing and beneficiall vnto vs? Repent your erreure, acknowledge with thanks the good order of the realme, that you haue felt with profite, forsake the disorderers of the comon welth, and yelde to suche good order as they that haue wel, wisely, iustly & mercifully ordered it can best dispose of you. You see these be stil but false colours to deceiue mo subjects, to draw moe adherents, to helpe to shroude your seducers in communitie of perill.

Destruction
of Nobility.

And of like sort, falshode and impudencie is that they say of seeking to destroy Nobilitie. Though some of them that so proclaime haue bene noble, you must remember how Nobilitie may rise & fall. There is no tray, for noble, how notable soeuer he be, or how noble soeuer his ancesters were. The aduancement for vertue to the most honorable order is no moze due to god, valiant and true Gentlemen, than the defacing of the former ensignes of Nobilitie, and solempne spurning them into a ditch, is a due preiudice to disloyal and untrue subjects, the very

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dayne of whose company, presence or fellowship in the tokens of honour true Nobilitie can not beare. Pitye it is that they haue so far forgotten the common wealth and their own, so to deserue. But so deseruing, good example and necessarie iustice it is, that they beare their extremest infamie. Neither yet hath the Quenes maiestie nor her Counsell sought their destruction, but they themselves haue now procured their own and drawen you in with them. Let themselves say of the benefites they haue receyued of her maiestie, her good countenance and supportation, all her Counsels frendly and louing meanes to do them good: then iudge ye what cause they haue so to say. As for the rest of the Nobilitie, as they be most depely bound to her Maiestie for her good and gracious tender loue and fauour to them, which they cease not to acknowledge, and will do, euen with the aduenture of their liues, honours and possessions, in her maiesties defence, against all Rebelles and Traytours, and namely against your Captaines and you: so are they full slenderly beholden to your two good Crles for defaming them with the partnership of so foule and abhominable treasons. And for that the slander is generall, without particular naming of any, ye must

C. j.

loke

• loke for the more general reuenge of all nobility against you, no one shrinking or with drawing, but euery one most forwardly pressing to purge himself by his god service from so great dishonour, and to shewe his thankfulness (the naturall propertie of honour) to his maiestie for his great kindnesse and tender loue to that whole degree. Some of them to their great praise, you see, already haue shewed their truth, in repressing your attempts, refusing your societie, & in readinesse to ouerthrow you. The man is so like, liest to desire a newe estate, as he hath most cause to be wery of the olde. In what Princes dayes did euer Nobility liue, or can they hope to liue in suche securitie, in suche (as it were) nercesse and conuenient familiaritie with their prince, so free from vntrust backbitings, from vaine ielousies & suspitions, from dangers by enemies reports or false accusations, from tumulte war and malice one against another, yea from all vnseurties and vnquietneses, as they haue done in her maiesties dayes? It is maruellous and vnnaturally miraculous, that there are founde such two (I mean your two Orles) to shewe such unkindnesse. Thinke not then that any more of nobilitie be so yf minded. But be not deceyued, take the thing as truthe is, this is but

but a coloz, howbeit in dede a lewd malicious
futtle & dāgerous coloz, partly to the intent
to raise mistrust bet wene hir Maiestie and
her nobles, if either were not so wel known
to other as they be, & partly oꝝ rather chiefly
to deceiue and deteine you with hope of that
which is not in deed. But as in the one they
labour in vayne, so in the other learne you
to be wiser, & to trust them the woꝛse here-
after. You find it falleth not out so. Her ma-
iestie hath euer cherished Nobilitie, no one
of that estate hath by her perished in all her
time, they know it and acknowledge it, and
you must see it. You see that they come not
to you, soꝝ all the promises and saythes sup-
posed in your Proclamation. It falleth not
out as you are boꝛne in hand: they are all in
readinesse with their power against you, to
clere themselves, & to weake the dishonoz by
on you. If this coloz deceiue you you winke
hard oꝝ be maruelously blinded. If any
of nobilitie soꝝ any contempts oꝝ other cau-
ses haue ben stayed (whereupon the likely-
hode is that you are the moꝛe led to thinke
this surmise true) themselves acknowlege
yet with what clemencie they are vsed, the
woꝛld knoweth how soꝛy her maiestie is to
haue any such occasion: but howsoeuer it be,
they haue smal cause to thanke you soꝝ agree-

lemency to
traitors.

ning their case with greater suspitions: and
according to that you haue so ill deserued of
thein, you must accompt that theiselues, so
farre as their liberties and hir Maiesties
trust in them will permitte, and all their
frendes for their benefite, will with most
sharpe reuenge vpon you, do what they can
to perswade their innocencie. Yetther I trust
will hir maiestie hir selfe, so yet giue ouer
the care of her own preservation, as to con-
temne all aduertisements of attempts, and
not by good care and hede of hir counsell, yea
& extirpation of the contrary, stand vpo her
garde against all aduancements of such ti-
tles as you would preferre being dangerous
to hir safetie, and which haue alrede to their
vttermost attempted her hiest perill, or yet
to leaue in daunger to their malice hir good
subiectes that be ielous of hir preserving.
And God giue vnto hir grace the hart in pe-
rils touching her person and estate, not to
haue too great clemencie, remembzing that
though it be magnificall and noble to con-
temne treasons, to pardon traytours, to re-
concile daingerous underminers of hir estate:
yet the whole realme hauing interest in hir
lyfe, by which we all liue, and can not liue
wel without her, it is farre moze honozable
to be good Lady to true men than to false, to
the

the whole cōmon welth of good men that de-
pend vpon hir, than to any knot of euil men
that may practiſe her daunger, by which the
whole realme muſt needs come to ſuch con-
fuſiō, as your wiſe guides would fain bring
it. But in the meane time you ſee, they haue
brought you in a gay caſe, vpon truſt of their
woydes, their bayne colours in their procla-
mations, their falſe promiſes of great ſuc-
cours. You are in the way of vndoing for e-
uer to helpe them to a little leſſure to ſhift,
or (if they abide by it) to giue the aduenture
of their moſt heynous treaſons.

And hereto they perſuade you with pro-
miſe of the helpe of god & good people, direct-
ly againſt the commandement of God, and
to the diſturbaunce of good people. But, I pray
you, what people, or what goodneſſe, loke
they for to ayde them? The late tumults in
king Edwards time haue taught al the wiſe
people of the realme, to be ware of ſuch ſol-
lies. The good & honeſt ſubiectes of the Weſt,
that were then ſeduced, now haue learned,
and do like good ſubiectes continue in loyall
duety and be ready to employ their force a-
gainſt you, to teach you by ſmart that which
ye wil not learn by example. The noble and
wel gouerned city of Excester hath taught al
Cities & towneſ the honoꝝ of faithfulneſſe.

Helpe of
God and
good peo-
ple.

The Weſt.

Excester.

r John
hekes ex-
cellent boke.

At the south, the east, eche part, the land, the
sea, & heauen it selfe are ioyned against you:
Each man seeth the hozroz of the fact, but your
selues alone. Reade (I beseech you) the excel-
lent treatise of sir John Cheke knight, of the
part of sedition, there see as in a glasse, the
desoluntie of your faulte, learne to wyper
way those spots that haue so slowly arayed
you, that you loke not like Christian people
but like monsters in nature & peltic, how-
euer your capitaines cal you good people, be-
ing so rebellious against so good a souerain &
banded in hostilitie against all good subiects.
So gethe thing that they pretend with mere
contrarietie of truth, be wypereth their open
falschod, while se they wil, to defend the selues
to haue said in one only thing true, that thei
rise to redresse things amisse, say that they
meane not things amisse to be redressed, but
things to be amisse redressed.
In like maner is all the rest. They will
(they say) restore auuncient customes and li-
berties to the church and realme. Are all cu-
stomes, without respect of good or bad, to be
restored? are not rather the badde to be re-
formed? and so is it true libertie to be deli-
uered from them, and not remaine thrall
and bounde vnto them. For he that bindeth
least and letteth freest, offereth most liber-
tie.

Customes.

Liberties.

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tie. If they meane by libertie letwde licentiousnesse, and dissolute disorde of lyfe, to haue no feare of God, prince, law, or shame, to haue no respect or awe of honestie, such libertie I graunt they propounde vnto you, and giue you dayly examles of. But if the true libertie of Chyistes church and flocke be, to heare his voyce, and no straungers, to be subiect or in bondage to no strange power or vsurped tyrannie that shall sit in the consciences of chrystia men, captiuing them to an implicite & general faith of what so euer they shall teach without the warrant of Chyist the true head of the church, then your great Libertines bying but bondage and slauierie. Beware therfore least vnder name of liberty you take the heuy yoke of thraldom. When most noble and victorious kings and princes, most graue, valiant and wise counsellors and nobilitie, moste learned, discrete and vertuous prelates and other of the clergy, haue with their great traual, study and aduenture, made a conquest of Antichriste that kept vs in bondage, deliuered this Realme to very freedom in dede, set it at libertie from foreine tyrants yoke: is this to restore the libertie of the Church, to make it bond again? Can you be so mad to think it? Great are the illusions vpon those whome

C. liij.

Gods

Gods grace hath forsaken. Pray to God to bring your hartes to libertie of consideration, and you shall plainly see the libertie of the church assailed by your owne factions, the libertie of your consciences captined, & the true libertie of your lines in lawfull things restrained. Sweete in deede is the name of libertie, and the tresure of the thing it self beyond all value inestimable: so much the more it behoueth you to take heede that with the sweetenesse of the name you lose not the value of the thyng. You may not thinke for maicestie her selfe, and her nobilitie, clergie, and other good subiectes, so farre throwne downe in courage, as they would lose the reweil of libertie. Much lesse must ye beleue your licentious boosters of libertie, that will bring you in deede nothing but bondage. You see the difference of their credite, and the euidence of your perill: iudge therfore the falsshood of this colour, as wel as the rest, and with the sond deuise that foloweth; to pretende a care for their countrey, into whose bowels they haue thrust their weapon, least they should be behind strangers in wounding her.

Strangers They say they feare a reformation by Strangers, to the hazard of the realme: and therefore forsooth these noble hazarders of their

their owne wealth, estate and honoꝝ, and of
your sureties, must hazard the realme them
selues, lest strangers should: and yet further
withal, lest them selues should not suffice to
hazard it enough, they directly signifie, and
it is wel known, that theselues haue sought
and vsed conspiracie of strangers to further
the hazard to their vttermoſt. But note the
fraude I pray you, for the meaning is to de-
ceiue you, and therefore it becometh you to
note it. They will not say directly, we haue
practised with strangers to take our partes,
for that were too bꝛode and too plaine: but it
must be pēned in such words that you must
be giuen to vnderstand that strangers are of
that faction, yea and so farre forward, that
they are also redy to do that which you haue
enterprised, though forsooth your Captaines
and they be not of one cōspiracie. He is blind
that seeth it not. All this is but to encourage
you and to put you in hope of aide, either by
traitoꝝ in England, oꝝ enemies abꝛode:
whēce it come it makes no mater. But they
deceiue you, it will not be: wey it wel, seade
not your selfe with vaine hopes.

First, if strangers were disposed to come,
it is a mad saying, let vs ryle and refoꝝme
least strangers come and refoꝝm, as though
strangers hauing purpose to come and in-

riding to gayn by spoyle, wold come so much
the later for hauing so much ayd as so many
rebelles to helpe them to spoyle. Therefore,
when they come not in dead, you must needs
say that you wer falsly so boyn in hand with
a gay hope, to make you the bolder runne
to your owne destruction.

Treasons of
Popish reli-
gion.

King Iohn.

Cardinall
Poole.

An unnatural hope it is and beastly, to
ioyne with any straungers to the spoyle of
their owne countrey. But such is the nature
of that false religion, to regard no country,
faith, nature or common honestie. Remem-
ber I pray you: what yeldded the realme tri-
butarie and the king Vassall, I meane king
Iohn, but the treason of Popish Religion?
What gaue the Crowne, to Ludouike the
Dolphin of France, that invaded and posses-
sed much of the Realme a long time, by the
ayde of disloyal barons in England, but the
treason of popish religion? What sent Le-
gates and Messangers (yea English tray-
tours) about christendome, to forrein emper-
our and kings, to offer them this Realme
to prey, spoyle and conquest, to exhort them
to turne their prepared powers from inva-
ding the Turke, to make war vpon the king
of England our Soueraigne Ladies most
noble father, whom they termed worse thā
any Turke, but treason of popish religion?

What

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What hazarded this Realme with subiecti
on to straungers in our late memoꝛie: but
treason of popish Religion: What then de
rived, & yet daily doth, solemne pedigrees to
Spaniards and other fozeins, yea and wre
steth law for dangerous strangers, to make
them acceptable to the deceived multitude,
as though they were our naturall Princes,
but onely treason of popish religion:

Trolop. A.
B. &c.

But GOD hath hitherto preserved this
land from being subdued by these horrible
treasons, and I trust he will still, and in
your poꝛe case is most likeliest to leaue your
vain trust disapointed. For consider the like
lihood. The example so toucheth the comunō
state of all kings and Princes, as you being
rebels may looke for no fozein aide, though
it wer but for presidents sake. Such fozeins
as might come to you by lande, are truer
friends to the Queene than you be subiectes:
where, by the way, looke for no retire nor
safe refuge, but her maiesties mercy. Other
straungers that in deede haue offered more
maice to her Maiestic & her realme, & haue
interrupted the good loue and peace, and an
cient league, amitie, & intelligence betwene
her Maiestic and those Princes of whome
she hath mosse constantly well deserued:
alas, they be neither much terrible to her
maiestie, nor can be much comfortable to you.

President.

Scotland.

Alas.

K. Phillip.

Will they, in such season as may serue your
turnes, hauing so fewe to spare where they
be, bying a meane power by Sea, so farre, so
dangerous a viage, along the Quenes high-
uells coast, in such time of yeare, being nei-
ther able to resist her nauie by the way, lesse
able when their men be landed, and least
able to come againe to fetch them when the
enterprise is ended? Be they so madde, throw
you, to leaue their Nobilitie, Captaines and
Souldiours in their enemies land, inclosed
betwene enemies of both Realmes, with-
out moze succour than unlikely Fortune
and the trust of a few rebellles? No no, they
be not yet so mad, though you be madder.
There must be greater heades and power
than you be, or haue at libertie, that they
will ioyne withall. They can be content
to giue you bayne hope perhaps. For if En-
gland may be in tumult, by their practise,
and you come to your deserued end, it con-
tenteth and suffiseth them to haue ventu-
red the state at your perill, and to haue grie-
ued her Maiestie with alienation and de-
struction of so many poore deceyued Sub-
iects. Look to your selues well, the bragges
are not perfourmed, the promises are not
kept, you are betrayed by your owne lea-
ders, Call to GOD for mercy by times, sa-
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fitte her Mafestie with returning to due-
tie, and that with all fpede, leaft though you
fcape slaughter by the true fubiects hande,
you may not with honour be too gently delt
with. Deliuier them that betrayed you,
that they which in proclamatiōs haue pub-
lished vnto you baine and false hopes of tre-
fons, may vppon scaffolds preache vnto you
the right fruits of rebellion and due tie of
obedience, that their death may doe moze
good in example, than euer their liues dyd
in praifc.

This counsell I hope you will folowe,
when the light of true confideration fhall
fhine into youre harts, and chafe away all
darkenelle of thefe erronious fhewes and
false colours that yet haue blinded you: and
fo muche the moze when you fhall further
note all the neceffary circumftaunces that
may reduce you to truth. What be youre
leaders? Your two Erles, you know well,
are euen of the meaneft of al Nobilitie, in
hauour, credite and power, to conduced you
through fo greate and dangerous an enter-
prife. The one you fee hardly beareth the
countenance of his eftate with his fmal por-
tion of that whiche his ancefters sometime
had and loft: his dayly sales and fhiftes for
neceffite, euen then when he hadde leffe
charge

The rebels
Leaders dif-
cribed.

E. of Arundell

charge than to maintaine an army, both in
Sussex and else where are well knowen:
such power as he hath had and vsed in those
partes about you, is to bee ascribed to her
Majesties authoritie, vnder whom he ser-
ued, which now is bent against him: other-
wise, neither his pollicie greatesse to rule or
redresse a Realme, nor yet to espie the true
fautes, much lesse the remedie, an vnfitte
iudge of religion, and a very euill chosen
chastiser of disordered lyfe. The other, of
no credite, no wisdome nor gouernance, no
abilitie, no vertue. Who knoweth not the
enormities of his lyfe, the indiscretion of
ruling his owne, the great lackes and debts
wherein he is by his owne faulte endan-
gered, the estimation of hym as of a con-
demned man, none otherwysse regarded
than for the names sake of honoz and some
possibilitie that he might perhappes leaue a
better sonne to amede the state of his house?
Though his father were touched wyth
many great faults, much noted in y^e world,
some whereof this Gentleman hath as by
inheritance receyued: yet neuer did he so
hurtfull a deed either to the common weale,
or to his owne name and familie, as when
he begatte so vngacious a sonne. Euen
he that neuer gouerned well himselfe nor
any

any thing that he hath, whom no wise man
nor I thinke any of you (as madde as ye be)
would privately trust with ordering of a
mean householde, now must take in publike
charge the power of a shiere or two, yea of
all the Realme, if the rest would aduenture
as madly as you. For the case of Religion:
both any man knowe that euer he pretended
any Religion or conscience at all, till
now he maketh an apische counterfayting
of sayned popische deuotion: And now yet,
by your good iudgement, he that knoweth
neither religion, faith nor learning, must
come to controulle the iudgement, learning
& faith of the Quenes Maiestie, her Coun-
sell and all her Clergie. What mad absur-
dities are you runne into, to beleue so ap-
paraunt vntruthes, dissimulations and hy-
pocrisies: The residue of your doltish Cap-
taynes, what be they: thinke you they be
men able to beare you out against the pow-
er of a Prince, all her Nobilitie, Cities,
Realme, subiectes, frendes and allies? One
with little witte far set, an other in his olde
age weary of his wealth, an other a runne-
away with a young wilde bzaire tickled to
see fashions. Alas, what be these to carry
you through the serious and earnest dan-
gerous enterpryse that you haue in hand?

They

Omen pla-
ect.

Pretense of
dutie.

They are rather meeter to stay you from it: more men surely to follow your ominous fatall or vnlucky ensignes, woundes and crosses, the apt and due signes of iust slaughter, or infamous execution.

But yet perhaps some of you haue this meaning, that you owe them duetie, and for dutie you will not forsake any daunger. If this consideration haue place in any duetie, it hath it chiefly in the best duetie which you haue despised. A mad excuse it is to say, you entred into daunger for duetie, when the principall duetie bad you sitte in quiet without daunger at all. Euen such a sonde doing of duetie it is, as if one would kill his Father to please his Maister, or rather murder Father, Maister and him selfe to kepe promise with a thiefe. What be these dueties that may moue you? wey them and compare them. The name of Percies and Neuilles haue long bene honourable and well beloued among you, some of you and your forfathers haue bene auanced by them and their auncesters, some perhaps be knit in kined, some be tenauntes, some be seruauntes, some be with like causes alied and bounde to the meaner Captaines. Great things be these to moue loue and good neybourhed, and of great impoztaunce and ef-
fica

licacie to drawe honest, true and kinde bar-
ted men to sticke by their Lordes and friends
in al warres ageinst the Princes enimyes,
and in all honest quarels and perilles : but
small matters they be, yea no causes at all
to drawe any man to stand with any man
in Rebelliens and Treasons. Is Percie and
Neuill moze auncient, moze beloued and
deare vnto you, than your naturall Soue-
raigne Ladie the Quene of England, yea
oz Englande it selfe? Dothe one small te-
nancie moue you moze than the holdyng
of the whole realme? Is not in all your ho-
mages and fealties vnto them, saued your
faith, and allegiance to your Souerain La-
die? This is euen as vntoward a follie, as if
a mad sole in a tempest would trauayle to
drowne the whole ship to saue one of the
mariners cabbens. This is not rightly con-
sidered of you.

The common weale is the ship we sayle
in, no one can be safe if the whole do perish.
To God, & then to the realme, to the croun,
to the lawe and gouernment, your leaders
and you and we all do owe our selues and al
that we haue, in highest degree of duetie: All
other inferioz dueties are but meanes that
these may be the better performed. When
now your Captaines haue forsaken faith &
D. J. duetic

duetie to god, natural loue and duetie to the
realme, allegiance and duetie to the croune,
obedience and duetie to lawe and gonerne-
ment: it is no following of duetie to follow
them against these dueties, no thoughte they
were your fathers. And that they haue done
so, you may not beleue their pretenses, you
must beleue the bolke of god which you haue
troden vnder fote, ye must beleue the lawes
of the realme which you haue contempnously
broken, you must beleue the Quenes Maie-
stie her self speaking in her proclamations,
& by the mouths of hir officers, whose graci-
ous voice you haue rebelliously contemned.

their doings.

Nowe as I haue compared your small
dueties pretended, with your great dueties
forsaken, compare againe your most due du-
ties with your vndue doings. You haue
without warrant from the Quenes Maie-
stie, or any by her authorized, assembled
your selues in forcible manner, adhered to
those whom hir Maiestie hath declared trai-
tours and rebelles, you haue leuied warre
within the Realme agaynst the Realme,
within the Quenes dominions against the
Quene, you haue broken the comon peace,
wherby your selues, your families and pos-
sessions haue hitherto bene preserved, you
haue in your rebellious outrage committed
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many haynous and horrible factes, you haue
destroyed the monumentes of Gods moste
holy Communion, you haue tozne and de-
faced the sacred Bible of Goddes most holy
worde, the very pledge of your saluation,
you haue presumed to alter the forme of
Chzistes Religion, you haue in dishonour
of Chzistes most blessed and onely sufficient
sacrifice, set vp the moste abhominable and
blasphemous sacrifice of wycked Masse, you
haue committed vnnaturall and vile cruel-
ties vpon gods ministers the dispensers of
Gods mysteries and of the healtke of your
soules, you haue defaced Gods holy ordi-
naunce wherby all mankynde is preserved
in chastitie, and continued by lawfull en-
crease, you haue robbed your neighbours,
spoyled and destroyed the Duchies true sub-
iectes, you haue walled the pzeuision for
your wines and childzen, you haue vndone
your selues. Now you, this be your duetic,
either as Chzistian men, Englishmen, sub-
iectes, tenauntes, hulbandes, fathers, neigh-
bours, yea or naturall men?

And when you haue thus done, thinke
you to beare it thus away? A piece of the
Bishoppzike of Durham and Richemonde.
hiere containeth not all Englande? Your
courage may be good, I would it were em-

D.ii.

ployed

their weak-
ne.

ployed for better causes: your power is but
small. You know you are but few, weak,
unarmed, unfurnished to holde out, unlaw-
fully called, unskillfully guided, slenderly
provided for, falsely abused, fondly blinded,
your captains not trustie to you nor bound
by any authoritie so to be, your company
not holden together by any iust power, but
that they may slip away as their lust, their
wearinesse, their neede, their businesse, hope
of pardon or better aduiseement may come
vpon them, your succoures faile you with-
in and without, your vitayles in a barren
place not lyke long to endure, the season
harde, your lodgings incommodious, your
householdes in perill of famine or destructi-
on in your absence, no store of armure,
weapon nor munition, your number of
horse though not now many, yet daily
lyke to be fewer, those necessaries that
you haue eyther for defence, inuasion or
sustenance being once spent, no way to
reouer more, one overthrow destroyeth
you wholly, you haue no meane to repaire
your force, you are enclosed rounde aboute,
no refuge by land, no escape by sea. Are not
you in a gay taking? And this you know to
be true.

On the other side, beholde the dreadfull
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maiestie of God the Lorde of hostes is dis-
pleased with you, the Quenes highnesse,
sometyme your louing Soueraigne Lady,
now by your lewdenesse is enforced to be
the heauy minister of Gods wꝛath against
you. The whole nobilitie for their duetie,
and the rather for reuenge of the dishono-
rable spots and suspitions spꝛinkled vpon
them by your traiterous Proclamations,
is earnestly bent to ouerthrowe you, the
whole number of her highnesse true sub-
iects ready to die vpon you, the number is
great agaynst you, infinitely excedyng
your petit multitude, they be furnished of
all things necessary with a Princes store,
and so greate store as neuer had any of her
auncestors, weapon, armure, shot, powder,
and all sort of munition, victual abundance,
choise of commodious being, strong holdes,
one knot of iust authoritie from which the
power assembled can not starte or seuer,
skilfull Captaynes, wise Governours, or-
derly proceeding, daily freshe succours at
pleasure, power to saue and kill by lawe, a
wyde and large Realme gathered together,
the countrey round about within his obey-
sance, a strong Paucie, good and sure frendes
euen in the next forrein part vnto you, the
very ground colour and foundations of

The Quenes
power.

D.iii.

your

The match
compared.

your enterprize be in her Majesties power,
and in all necessities or misfortunes, armed
upon armie to be newe repayzed, so as a
fewe victories can not suffice you: finally
all aduantages against you infinitely in-
comparable. Trow you this match be well
made? a corner against a Realme, a hand-
full against hundreds of thousandes, want
against plentie, folly against policie, naked-
nesse against armed force, the succourlesse a-
gainst abundance of ayde, falshood against
truth, one or two boltishe madde heades a-
gainst whole Nobilitie, a fewe Rebelles a-
gainst all subiectes, the wilde field against
strong fortres, an vngodly, weakie, foolish, de-
stitute, misguided, silly, small multitude a-
gainst the wrath of God and power of a
Prince: Is it not time for you to be better
advised? See you not your perill? or is it
not rather so deepe that you can not see the
bottomie? Surely it is as deepe as Well:
which though you can not thoroughly mea-
sure it, you may iustly feare it. Dreadfull
he is that can sende both body and soule in-
to hell fire. Beside all these bodily paynes,
the state wherein you stand, is the state of
damnation, if you die in it, there is no reco-
uerie.

Remember your selues therefore be-
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mes. For Gods sake, and for your owne
weale enclastingly, bethinke you of the ^{Gods mercy.}
infinite mercie of almightie God, whereof
there is no measure. Repent you of your
offending hym, embrace his true Religi-
on, heare his woꝛde, learne his will, and
follow it. Againe, call to mind howe graci-
ous and mercifull a Quene he hath placed ^{The Quenes}
ouer vs: thinke vpon the great examples ^{clemencie.}
of clemencie that she hath vsed, the ten-
der loue that she hath euer shewed to the
Realme, the care she hath for vs all,
the griefe she beareth to lose so manye of
you that might be better preserved: flee to ^{Holsome}
that refuge, where is the onely hope that ^{counsell.}
is left you: make suche amendes as you
may, yelde your Captaines to iustice, your
selues to hir mercie, that if for necessarie
importance of honour, of president, and of
the safetie of her Maiesties person and re-
alme, you must be some examples of iu- ^{Example.}
stice, you may recouer yet the possession of
eternal life: and if her Maiestie shall ex-
tende the excesse of hir clemencie to your
pardone, you may acknowledge it in your
truer seruice hereafter: and whether way
so euer it shall please GOD and hir high-
nesse to dispose, you may in life and deathe
teache true obedience, and be examples to
re

restrayne your selues and all other here
after from so foule spot and daunger of re-
bellion. And to this ende, God sende you
his grace.

God saue our Queene
Elizabeth, and con-
found her enemies.

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1569.

